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The EXAMINER.

From Friday July 2. to Monday July 5.

Quod times, aut futurum eſt, aut ſecus. Si ſecus: fruſtra vexaris. Si venturum eſt; tum ſatis dolebis tandem, cum adfuerit Tribulatio.

Seneca.

THE Accounts which the *Whigs* give of the Loyalty of their *Party*, are drawn up in looſe unlimited *Generals*; within the Latitude of any *Reſerves*, and capable of any Explanations, which their Intereſt ſhall hereafter dictate to them; when Time and Opportunity ſhall ripen their preſent Undertakings, or produce an Emergence and Juncture of Affairs, agreeable to their Withes and Deſires. They tell us, that they are for the *Conſtitution* in all its Parts, the *Church* of *England* not excepted; for the *Proteſtant Religion*; for true *Britiſh Liberty*, and the *Rights* both of *Crown* and *People*. Thus far they ſpeak the Words of Honeſty and Uprightneſs: But when we hear them every Day calling thoſe Men, who are as much for the *Conſtitution*, the *Church*, the *Proteſtant Religion*, the *Rights* both of *Queen* and *Subject*, and true *Britiſh Liberty* as themſelves, by the Names of *Traytors*, *Slaves*, *French Penſioners*, and *Papiſts*, they put us under a Neceſſity of enquiring a little further into their Meaning. For if they Mean'd as they Said, and Both ſaid the ſame Thing, it would be impoſſible that there ſhould be ſuch a wide Difference between the two Characters; almoſt as great as between *Black* and *White*, *Light* and *Darkneſs*. When this Meaning comes to be more narrowly Examined, then we find, that the main Diſpute relates chiefly to ſome late Incidents and Occurrences, ſuch as the *Change* of the *Miniſtry*, the *Peace*, the *Bill of Commerce*, *South-Sea Trade*, and the like Tranſactions of one Sett of Men; compared with the *Military Schemes* and *Taxations* of *Another*; their *Wars*, *Victories*, *Barrier-Treaty*, *general Naturalization*, and other Acts and Monuments of their Conduct and Adminiſtration. When we are got thus far towards unraveling the ſecret Cauſes of our Diſtractions and Civil Diviſions, it is plain, that in diſcuſſing theſe Points, the Argument of *Both Parties* flies out into all the wild ungovernable Extreams of *Satire* or *Panegyrick*; and then an impartial Judge of Men and Things may ſoon perceive, that the publick Tranſactions we ſo violently extol, were in all probability contriv'd and carry'd on by our own particular Friends, Men upon whom we have ſome Dependence or other, are ſome way attach'd to them by our Hopes and Expectations, or can form a Proſpect, however remote and *Chimerical*, whereby they may one time or other become uſeful to us, either in the Making or Advancing our Fortunes; whilſt, on the contrary, the Men, who ſupplanted them, or acted in oppoſition to them, are, for that very Reaſon, become our Enemies; we condemn all their Actions, cenſure every Motive and Tendency of their Conduct, and call to the Publick to take part with us in this private Pique, which we have conceived againſt them. Thus, in a natural Train of Sentiments, the whole Controverſy is brought to a narrow Point, and turns entirely upon *perſonal Intereſt*, *Favour* at *Court*, and a Scramble for *Places* and *Preferments*.

Suppoſing this were the Caſe (and there are abundance of well-meaning Men among the common Obſervers, who imagine it is no other) *both Sides* ſtand condemn'd; becauſe *Theſe* are Faults on *both Sides*, and in much the ſame intenſe Degree of Guilt; only the *Whigs* are moſt inexcuſable, becauſe they are for returning too ſoon into Play, before the *other Side* have had their juſt Quota and Dividend. But then admitting this as a juſt State and rational Account of the Matter, ſtill the Right of Diſpoſal, and conſequently, according to this Scheme, the Right of Ending the Diſpute and making a final Deciſion, being wholly in the Government, the *Whigs* are ſo much the more abandoned to *Faction*, in attempting to uſurp upon this Prerogative, and to alter a Judgment given, by raiſing a Tumult and Uproar in the *Court*; and the greater ſtill is their Iniquity to quarrel with a State for the Exerciſe of a *known Right*, upon no better Grounds than *private Intereſt* and *Advantage*; and to draw in vaſt Numbers of harmleſs well-meaning People for Sharers in their Guilt and Puniſhment, upon no other Proſpect, but the honourable Drudgery of being Tools to their Avarice and Ambition.

But here the *Whigs* open in their own Defence, and exclaim loudly, that they are the moſt Diſintereſted and Publick-ſpirited People upon Earth. They have indeed been far from Crouching or Bending the Knee to the *Throne*: On the contrary, whether *Up* or *Down*, they have always Haraſs'd and Inſulted it, as if it had been *Vacant* ever ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. They have been far from Careſſing or Fawning upon Great Men or *Men in Power*: On the contrary, they have Libell'd and Aſpers'd them, as if they had been their Slaves and Vaſſals. And hence it is that they talk of *Cato* and *Brutus*, recite Scraps of *Latin* in their own Favour, and aſſume to themſelves the Characters of I know not what doughty *Heroes* and *Patriots*. Hence it is that they talk of moving only by Principles of Honour and Publick, and of deſpiſing all other Conſiderations, when brought in Competition with the Intereſt of their Country. But now it is certain (and Experience confirms the Remark) that the *Cheques* of the *Government* are ſo finely wrought, and brought ſo near to an exact *Balance*, and the Conſtitution in general is ſo well diſpoſed for Reſt, and indeed wants it ſo very much, that its beſt Friends are often contented to purchaſe it any Rate. Whereby a *violent Oppoſition* is ſometimes as ſure a Method to procure Preferment, as the moſt exalted Merit, or the moſt

ſteady

ſteady Loyalty and Affection. So that we often ſee a forward buſtling Fellow diſplaying all his Talents, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the Service of *Faction*, and puſhing to be at the Head of his own *Party*, on purpoſe that he may become, firſt Conſiderable, then Dangerous, and at laſt be weigh'd and bought up by the State, for the ſake of Peace, and to mortify a Daring Inſolent Enemy? One or two ſuch Inſtances may conſiſt well enough with *good Policy*; and thus I can imagine in the *Image-Shops* of the *Antients*, that the *Head* of *One Idol* was often made into a *Pedeſtal* for *Another*: But the Practice muſt not be too common, for fear of making *Sedition* Meritorious, and giving greater Offence, than ſuch a Stratagem will ſerve to Counterballance. Beſides this, we are to conſider, that all the late Arguments of the *Whigs* favour ſtrongly of Self-Intereſt, and turn entirely upon the Old *Jewiſh* Deluſion. They have a Kingdom of this World in View; which they already deal out in Shares and Dividends, raiſing Forces, and recruiting Troops, with the *Bounty-money* of theſe *Anticipations*. Some of them are Silly and Sanguine enough to Name the *Principal Officers*, the *White Staves*, and *Miniſters of State*; and they have an opportunity of Promiſing the more largely, becauſe their Grants depend upon Futurity. Others are ſo hurry'd away with Ambition, and ſo impatient of Delays, that they are for skipping over the *Interregnum* (as they think, and have try'd to make it) in order to come directly, and at once to their own *Happy Reſtoration*. 'Tis not enough they can *Reſiſt*, but they muſt *Call Over*: And how can the *Suc*——*n* be effectually Secur'd, ſo long as they want no leſs than *Eleven Points* in the *Law*? Let not theſe Men boaſt of their diſintereſted Loyalty, or impoſe a Publick Spirit upon the World, which, ſtript of its Diſguiſe, is the vileſt Cheat and Counterfeit in Nature. Such Behaviour only ſerves to open Mens Eyes, and give a full View of their Character, upon the Teſtimony of many flagrant and fatal Experiments; which is, That their *Allegiance* goes with their *Places*, and *want of Power* is ſufficient Ground for *Sedition*.

Here now the Loyalty, Honeſty and Integrity of the *Tories*, ſhew themſelves in a very agreeable Light, when ſet in Oppoſition to the Character of theſe Men. They go on ſerving the *Preſent Government*, and reſcuing us from the many Corruptions that hung about us, and a Train of Evils, which, by all the Rules of judging Events that were ever yet in Practice, muſt have infallibly iſſu'd in our Ruin. They perſiſt in their Duty towards an Excellent *Q*——*n*, ſtrengthen *Her* Hands, endeavour to make *Her* Reign eaſy, and *Her* People Happy under *Her* Adminiſtration. For this they are Bully'd and Menac'd: For this they are told; That a *Day* will come: That *Somebody* muſt give a ſevere Account: That the *Old Mi*——*y* will then have the Sweets of an ample Revenge; and a thouſand Extravagances of this Nature are daily Bellow'd out, all briefly Sum'd up in the inſolent Recital of that dreadful Word, HEREAFTER. Theſe idle Threats and *Gaſconades* have had no other effect, but to expoſe that ſtrangely diſintereſted People, the *Whigs*. Honeſt Men, who ſincerely Love their Country, will let theſe Puffs of Seditious Air paſs by unregarded; will perſiſt in doing their Duty, and leave the Event to him, who enjoins that Duty to be done at all Hazards and under all Diſadvantages. In this, true diſintereſted Vertue conſiſts, in chuſing the Good before the Evil, and acting agreeably to that Choice, without regard to the Profit or Loſs that comes along with the Conſequences. Tis impoſſible for a *Coward* to be an honeſt Man: Nor indeed can he be Safe, whilſt he is at the diſpoſal of every *Knave* or *Fool*, who has more Bravery than himſelf. None but the Guilty ought to be Concern'd for *Futurity*: And they, who are aw'd into a reverential Fear of the *Whigs* as *Prophets* and *Soothſayers*, deſerve the Fate of thoſe Superſtitious Wretches, who reſort to *Conjurers* and *Wizards*; and are often Puniſh'd with the Accompliſhment of the very worſt Accidents and Events, that were foretold ſhould befall them.

But ſince there is ſuch a Vertue in Government as *Precaution*: Since the Conſequences of every kind of Management ought to be regarded; if not for the ſake of *Private Intereſt*, yet certainly with an Eye to *Publick Good*: Since the *Faction* pretend to have a *Refuge* and *Sanctuary*; a Power to Reſort to, with whom their future Hopes and Ambition, their Reſentments and Thirſt of Revenge, are ſafely depoſited; no legal Proviſions ſhould be omitted, for cutting off this Dependence, and ſaving *Great Britain* from a Poſſibility of ever falling into their Hands again. One would think there ſhould be no great occaſion for *Fineſſe* and Cunning to bring this Buſineſs about; at a *Court*, when Policy and Wiſdom are in high repute, join'd to a perfect Knowledge of the *Britiſh* Affairs. It is a Jeſt to think, that any *Prince*, whoſe Right is a Part of the Conſtitution, will ever depart from it, to become the Head of a *Faction*. *Pretenders*, *Invaders*, and *Uſurpers* are oblig'd to work this Way: But a *Legal Power in Reverſion* will ſtick faſt by the *Powers in Being*; and nothing ſo effectually Overturns a *Parliamentary Right*, as the Scandalous Upſtart Notion of a *Domineering Minority*.

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